

## Message Text

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 NICOSI 00478 171819Z  
ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 /026 W  
-----171931 081705 /50

O R 171740Z FEB 77  
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TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 5336  
AMEMBASSY ATHENS IMMEDIATE  
INFO AMEMBASSY ANKARA  
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USMISSION EC BRUSSELS  
AMEMBASSY LONDON  
USMISSION NATO  
AMEMBASSY PARIS  
AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE  
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK

C O N F I D E N T I A L NICOSIA 0478  
EXDIS  
ATHENS FOR CLIFFORD MISSION

E.O. 11652: GDS  
TAGS: PFOR, CY, UN  
SUBJECT: CLIFFORD MISSION: CONVERSATION WITH MAKARIOS  
  
REF NICOSIA 0461

1. I CALLED ON ARCHBISHOP MAKARIOS AT NOON FEB 17. WE  
DISCUSSED, AND HE APPROVED IN FULL, ARRANGEMENTS FOR THE  
CLIFFORD MISSION. GOC WILL NOW ANNOUNCE THESE IN GENERAL  
TERMS.

2. I ASKED MAKARIOS IF HE HAD ANY THOUGHTS HE WOULD  
LIKE TO HAVE CONVEYED BEFORE THE MISSION'S ARRIVAL. I  
RECOMMENDED THAT GOC MAKE FULLEST USE OF THE OPPORTUNITIES  
INHERENT IN THIS MISSION. I HOPED THAT IN HIS MEETING WITH  
CLIFFORD THE ARCHBISHOP WOULD CANDIDLY STATE WHAT  
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PAGE 02 NICOSI 00478 171819Z

HE WOULD ULTIMATELY ACCEPT AS A SOLUTION.  
MAKARIOS SAID HE WOULD DEAL WITH CLIFFORD "WITH OPEN  
CARDS". "I WILL TELL HIM BOTH OUR MAXIMUM AND OUR MINIMUM."

3. IN ANSWER TO MY QUESTION, MAKARIOS COMMENTED THAT HE  
WAS PLEASED WITH THE RESULTS OF HIS MEETINGS WITH DENKTASH  
THUS FAR. HE BELIEVED THAT ANKARA WAS DIRECTING DENKTASH TO

NEGOTIATE SERIOUSLY. HOWEVER, HE HAD MISGIVINGS ABOUT HOW FAR ANKARA WOULD BE WILLING TO LET DENKTASH GO, GIVEN TURKEY'S INTERNAL TURMOIL, ESPECIALLY THE STRAINS PRODUCED BY IMPENDING ELECTIONS. IN TERMS OF THE NEXT VIENNA MEETING, SCHEDULED FOR MARCH 31, HE HAD INSTRUCTED PAPADOPOULOS TO GO STRAIGHT TO THE CRUCIAL POINT. THIS WAS TO FIND OUT WHAT TERRITORIAL CONCESSION THE TURKS WERE PREPARED TO MAKE. IF AGREEMENT IN PRINCIPLE WERE REACHED ON THIS ISSUE, THEN THE NEGOTIATIONS COULD BE MOVED TO NICOSIA WHERE EXPERTS COULD BE ADDED. WHEN I MENTIONED THAT THE TURKS SEEMED TO WANT TO COME TO AN UNDERSTANDING ON CONSTITUTIONAL QUESTIONS FIRST IN ORDER TO HAVE IT CLEAR WHAT THE SHAPE OF THE FUTURE ZONAL ADMINISTRATIONS AND CENTRAL GOVERNMENT WOULD BE, MAKARIOS SAID THESE WERE MATTERS THAT WOULD TAKE MUCH TOO LONG TO WORK OUT IN VIENNA. IN ADDITION TO TERRITORY, PAPADOPOULOS WOULD SEEK SPECIFICITY ON HOW THE PRINCIPLES OF FREEDOM OF MOVEMENT, FREEDOM OF SETTLEMENT, AND RESPECT FOR PROPERTY RIGHTS WOULD BE APPLIED. THIS WOULD PROVIDE PLENTY TO TALK ABOUT IN VIENNA. THE TURKISH SIDE NEED NOT BE CONCERNED THAT THEIR INTERESTS WOULD BE NEGLECTED, MAKARIOS DISINGENUOUSLY COMMENTED, SINCE UNDER THE PACKAGE APPROACH NO ELEMENT WOULD BE FIRM UNTIL ALL ISSUES HAD BEEN AGREED.

4. ON THE TERRITORIAL QUESTION, I SAID I REALIZED IT WAS DIFFICULT FOR THE GREEK SIDE TO DRAW A LINE ON THE MAP, SINCE TO DO SO AUTOMATICALLY PRECLUDED SOME REFUGEE RETURN. WOULD THE ARCHBISHOP APPROVE A PROCEDURE WHEREBY WALDHEIM OR LATER DE CUELLAR SIMPLY PUT A MAP ON THE TABLE AND INVITED THE PARTIES TO EXPLORE EACH OTHER'S FLEXIBILITY  
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PAGE 03 NICOSI 00478 171819Z

AREA BY AREA? MAKARIOS SAID THIS WOULD BE QUITE SATISFACTORY TO HIM AND HE AGREED IT WOULD BYPASS THE QUESTION OF WHO WAS TO MOVE FIRST.

5. IN ANSWER TO MY FURTHER QUESTION, MAKARIOS SAID THAT IN VIENNA HIS SIDE WOULD NOT BE BOUND BY ITS PROPOSALS OF APRIL 1976. THESE MIGHT ENTER IN THE DISCUSSION IN SOME MODIFIED FORM, BUT HE AGREED THAT THE GREEK PROPOSALS HAD IN MANY RESPECTS BEEN OVERTAKEN BY EVENTS. COMMENT: THIS GOES TO DE CUELLAR'S CONCERN REPORTED REFTEL.  
CRAWFORD

NOTE BY OC/T: EXDIS CAPTION ADDED PER MR. STEINER, S/S-O.

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NNN

## Message Attributes

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**Decaption Note:** 25 YEAR REVIEW  
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**Disposition Approved on Date:**  
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**Disposition Comment:** 25 YEAR REVIEW  
**Disposition Date:** 22 May 2009  
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